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Taft, William Howard

Holding the Philippine
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Holding the Philippine Islands

An Address

By

WILLIAM H. TAFT

Delivered at the Academy of Music, Brooklyn, New York,
November 13, 1913

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Sent out with the Compliments of George H. Paine, Philadelphia, Pa.

Ladies and Gentlemen: I have been invited to speak to you about our problem in the Philippines. With the exception of the preservation of our constitutional form of representative government, and the maintenance of an independent judiciary as the bulwark of individual rights under such a government, there is no subject in which I have a more intense interest. I am glad to have an opportunity to present my views upon it to such an intelligent and public-spirited audience as this is, and under such pleasant auspices as those of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences.

For nearly four years, from September, 1900, until February, 1904, I had much direct personal responsibility for the course taken by the United States in the Philippines, and except for a short interval of nine months after that, until I left office March 4, 1913, the government of the islands was under my control either as Secretary of War or as President. It is now a full thirteen years since I began to study the problems and to help in formulating and carrying out our policies. The pleasure has been given to me, than which there is no greater in life, of watching the development of plans made more than a decade ago for the improvement and progress of a people, and of seeing the fruition of many hopes then formed, and the vindication of forecasts then made.

SHALL NOT CONSIDER MERITS OF OUR TAKING OVER THE
PHILIPPINES.

I shall not to-night consume any time in discussing the merits of our going into the Philippines. I pass over the issues which were hotly discussed in the campaign of 1900, and in which the motives of those who were responsible for our policy in the Philippines were aspersed with much vituperation and partisan heat. We have a concrete problem as to the welfare of a people before us, in respect to which we have actually assumed responsibility and only partially discharged it. To use Mr. Cleveland's phrase in another relation, "It is a condition that confronts us and not a theory." We are dealing with the Philippines now and not with them as they were in 1898 or 1900. The expense of the Philippines, in so far as they may affect our policy, is their expense now and in the future, and not what the expense was when we were suppressing a rebellion and giving the islands peace. Yet we cannot escape retrospect for certain purposes. We must, in order to explain the present conditions.

and to show what beneficent changes have taken place, try to give some idea of the state of the islands and of their people when the United States began its work there.

The Philippine Islands are a group of very numerous islands, of which there are some 300 inhabited. They form a continental bulwark off southeastern Asia, facing the Pacific. Their superficial area is about 150,000 square miles. They have nearly 8,000,000 people. Of those, a little less than 7,000,000 are Christian Filipinos. Perhaps 1,200,000 are made up of Moros, who are Mohammedan Malays, and non-Christian tribes of all conditions of capacity, from the Igorotes, who live in the mountains of North Luzon, and are a people most amenable to civilizing influences, to the Negritos, or little negroes, who are as low in point of progress toward civilization as almost any people in the world.

RELIGION AND CONTROL OF THE FRIARS.

The Christian Filipinos, numbering perhaps 6,800,000, are the only Christian people in the Orient. They were converted 350 years ago. They were treated as children, and have, the large body of them, been in Christian tutelage ever since. Their religion and their government were almost the same. The Vatican transferred to the Spanish Crown much of the control of the religious authorities in the islands, and there was so close a union of church and state that while at times there were differences between the civil government and the hierarchy, in the end the latter always prevailed. The religious control in the islands was really vested in the provincials of three or four religious orders of the regular clergy. Their members constituted the parish priests, and through their very dominant influence the government was carried on. I am far from minimizing many of the excellent results that followed from this control by the friars in the civilization in the Philippines. They taught their people religion and agriculture, and they gave education to a small part. But their rule was not progressive, in the modern sense, and it did not result, except in the case of comparatively a small number, in general intelligence. It did fix upon the souls of the people a strong hold of religion, but the governmental policy was that of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, of keeping the people in a happy childhood of knowledge and faith and excluding the influ-

ences of modern progress in politics and society, lest they lead to dangerous departure from ancient and accepted ways.

In the end, the result was what might have been expected. The opening of the Suez Canal, in 1870, brought Spain close to this colony of hers. Republicanism in Spain affected many of those who had education in the islands. The exclusion of natives from the priesthood, except in inferior places—a radical departure from the usual policy of the Roman Church, due to Spanish influence and control—created among the Filipino priests a racial sense of injustice and tyranny, while the circulation of liberal political views through greater contact with the world gave rise to agitation and unrest among the educated Filipinos who had great influence with their ignorant fellow-countrymen. The spread of liberal political literature and small outbreaks aroused the suspicion and fear of the government of the islands, which did not hesitate to use the Spanish parish priests as police agencies for detecting sedition and bringing the suspected participants to summary punishment by imprisonment, exile or death. Rizal, the greatest Filipino, a physician, a novelist and a poet, because of his struggle for a betterment of conditions under Spanish rule, was unjustly convicted and shot, as guilty of treason, and his chief accusers were said to be the friars. This added greatly to the unpopularity of the friars and the bitterness of feeling against them.

AGRARIAN INSURRECTION.

The friars had acquired, in the course of 300 years, and had vested in their orders ownership of upward of 425,000 acres of the most productive land in the Philippines, had spent considerable capital in improving much of it, and had thereon upward of 60,000 tenants. The intensity of the feeling against them and against the government by Spain, which was arbitrary, and which, as the friars lost their hold upon the people, became ineffective, engendered an agrarian spirit and produced several armed insurrections against the authority of Spain. The revolution of 1896 was a bloody one in some of its battles, and Aguinaldo, a schoolteacher with certain traits of leadership, won a victory of not large proportion, but sufficient to give him a conspicuous position as the representative of a possible triumphant resistance to Spanish authority. His achievement aroused a popular hope that the Government of Spain and the

friars might be changed to one less absolute and more adapted to the needs of the country and having more of the recognition of educated Filipinos in its conduct. The result, however, was a wearing out of the forces of insurrection and the ending of the warfare by the payment of several hundred thousand dollars to Aguinaldo and his associates who had led the insurrection, and an agreement on their part to withdraw from the country, called the Treaty of Biac na Bato. I do not stop to discuss the motives of Aguinaldo and his companions in making such an arrangement. What its terms were have always been a source of great dispute.

The fund paid under the treaty of Biac na Bato was not dissipated in riotous living, and a substantial part of it was kept and was ultimately used in the promotion of a second insurrection, at the time when the Islands lay under the control of Dewey's guns. This insurrection was begun to help us land our forces and take possession, but with the purpose on the part of Aguinaldo and the others who took part of ultimately establishing an independent government. This brings us to the time when the United States took over the islands in 1898. What were the conditions then?

IGNORANCE AND ILLITERACY OF THE PEOPLE AT TIME OF AMERICAN OCCUPANCY.

When we entered the Islands in 1898, the number of people who spoke Spanish was from 7 per cent. to 10 per cent. of the total number of Christian Filipinos in the islands, and this measured fully the degree of intelligence of the people who were thrust by circumstances under our wardship. Among the so-called civilized or Christian Filipinos there were fifteen or sixteen different dialects. One who understood but one dialect could not talk to or communicate with one who spoke another dialect only. The dialects all contained Malay roots, and were branches of the Malay language, but each had a comparatively small vocabulary, very little literature indeed, and was incapable of furnishing a suitable language to serve as a medium for the communication of ideas of modern science or of social and political progress or of free institutions.

I can well illustrate the condition of the islands in this regard by taking a journey with you from Manila to Dagupan in the Island of Luzon, a distance of 120 miles. In Manila we would hear much Spanish, good when spoken by the educated people, a patois

of Spanish or Tagalog when spoken by the work people and the street boys. Outside of Manila, in the Province of Rizal, we would find Tagalog chiefly spoken. In Bulacan, a province to the north, whose northern boundary is perhaps twenty-five miles from Manila, we would find Tagalog spoken. Entering Pampanga, the next and very important province, we would find spoken there the Pampangan dialect, unintelligible to a Tagalog. Proceeding from Pampanga, we would come into the Province of Tarlac, in the south half of which Pampangan is spoken, and in the north half of which the Pangasinanian tongue is used. Entering the Province of Pangasinan we would find, in the southern half, Pangasinanian as the dialect which the people of the soil understand and talk, and then proceeding to the town of Dagupan we would find Spanish again spoken, while in the country about we would find not only Pangasinanian but also the Ilocano dialect, derived from the Ilocano provinces to the north. Thus in a range of 120 miles we would find the people of the soil speaking four different dialects. Now, I do not intend by these facts to disprove a homogeneity among Christian Filipinos. They are alike in appearance, habits, customs, religion, and they do have a common national or race feeling. I am only pointing out a state of intelligence, shown by the fact that there are and have been sixteen different dialects of this kind, and that in the Spanish control of nearly four hundred years only from 7 to 10 per cent. have learned Spanish.

CENSUS OF LITERACY OF MALES AND FEMALES IN ISLANDS.

The census of 1903 showed that only 20 per cent. of the population over 10 years old could read and write in any language, as compared with 90 per cent. in the United States. Of this 20 per cent. less than 10 per cent. could read and write Spanish. As I have already said, one confined to a knowledge of a Philippine dialect is much out of touch with civilization or its progress. In only three of the dialects are any newspapers printed, and these are most limited in circulation. Of males over 10 years, not 30 per cent. can read and write in any language, while among females of the same age only 11 per cent. can do this. Only 60,000 males over 10 years had superior, i. e., a good common school education in a population of 6,800,000, which is 9-10 of 1 per cent. of the population, or 2.4 per cent. of all males over 10 years; while only 18,000

females over 10 years of age have such an education, or 7-10 of 1 per cent. of the number of females of that age.

SHOWING OF ELECTIONS AS TO LITERACY OF ELECTORS.

Another guide to the intelligence of the Christian Filipino people we have in the result of the elections. Under the present law, there are four classes of electors; first class, those who had held municipal office under the Spaniards, a recognized class among the people; second, those who own \$250 worth of property of land or personalty; third, those who pay \$15 of taxes of all kinds to the municipality, province and central governments; fourth, those who speak English or Spanish. Under this law the National Assembly elections, held by law in districts that embrace the entire territory of the Christian Philippines, brought out for registration, in the election of 1912, in which partisan feeling was high, 3.5 per cent. of the census population. Ninety-six per cent. of the registered electors voted. Of those who voted, those who could not read were noted. The literate voters were 1.47 per cent. of the population.

The condition of mind and the profound state of ignorance of the great mass of the Christian Filipinos was made evident by the ease with which religious fakers, as soon as the authority of the church was withdrawn, were able, by wild promises of supernatural powers by the fakers, to rouse them to follow in large numbers such vicious leadership and to plunder and kill their fellow Filipinos in many parts of the islands.

A tribal relation of subordination, which had been more or less controlled or used politically in the Spanish days, still manifests itself in the form of caciqueism, so-called, which, being literally translated, is local bossism. This was and is a social feature of their civilization, and creates a relation of complete dependence upon, and subserviency to, the cacique among those who live in his neighborhood, so that his personal control is most absolute. This condition made it possible for the cacique, if he was so minded, to use his dependents in the guerrilla warfare, between 1898 and 1902, in perpetrating the most fiendish crimes, which they committed with Oriental imperturbability because they felt they were justified by the orders of their superior.

CAPACITY OF FILIPINO PEOPLE TO LEARN SELF-GOVERNMENT.

Now, I am far from saying that these things indicate an inability on the part of the Christian Filipinos to receive education and to be made capable of self-government ultimately. The eagerness with which they have availed themselves of the educational facilities for their children that the government of the United States in the islands has afforded to them, is the great and hopeful symptom of a capacity for improvement among them, and is the strong ground for our faith in the success of our great experiment. But it is necessary, before deciding what we are to do in the future, and how soon our responsibility with respect to that people shall cease, that we should know and realize how difficult the problem before us is, and become convinced that time and long-continued effort are of the essence of its successful solution.

The educated Filipinos, as you can see from the statistics I have given you, are a very small part of the people. Many of them have Chinese or Spanish blood. Indeed, the wealthy and prominent are almost all of the half blood, and they have attractive personalities. They are of graceful speech, artistic temperament, generous and most hospitable, quick to see, quick to act, loving beauty of form and beauty of color, brave, warlike, facile of speech, emotional, poetic and oratorical.

They take easily to intrigue and love politics. The influence of Spanish authority, to which they have been trained for 300 years, makes those who are wealthy and educated unsympathetic with the true democracy, loving to be regarded as part of an aristocracy and entirely lacking in a real appreciation of the advantage of maintaining for all the individual rights secured under our institutions of civil liberty. Their praise of liberty and freedom is largely a lip service, except in so far as it is to be interpreted as the expression of a desire that the control of the Philippines be transferred from the Government and the people of the United States to an oligarchy of the educated and wealthy in the Philippines.

RECORD PROOF OF SPIRIT OF OLIGARCHY AMONG WELL-TO-DO FILIPINOS.

My conviction as to the undemocratic attitude of the well-to-do Filipinos does not rest alone on general knowledge of their

views. There is record evidence of it in the official report of the petition for immediate independence which, at the instance of Fiske Warren, the anti-imperialist of Boston, a committee of prominent and educated Filipinos were permitted to present to the Congressmen and Senators who visited the islands in 1905. There was not only a written petition, but there were many speeches, in all of which the point was made that the Filipinos were ready for self-government because there was a small educated governing class and a large mass of ignorant people who had shown that they would obey. I quote a part from this petition:

"It is an irrefutable fact that the Filipino people are governable. The period of Spanish domination and the present American sovereignty bear out this assertion. The political condition of a country principally depends upon the theory of governableness of its people. The more governable the popular masses are the better the political condition of the country. * * *

"If the masses of the people are governable, a part must necessarily be denominated the directing class, for as in the march of progress, moral or material, nations do not advance at the same rate, some going forward whilst others fall behind, so it is with the inhabitants of a country, as observation will prove."

"If the Philippine Archipelago has a governable popular mass called upon to obey and a directing class charged with the duty of governing, it is in condition to govern itself. These factors, not counting incidental ones, are the only two by which to determine the political capacity of a country; an entity that knows how to govern the directing class, and an entity that knows how to obey, the popular masses."

ENOUGH EDUCATED FILIPINOS FOR TWO SHIFTS OF OFFICES

This is of a piece with a petition presented to me by a committee of what has now become the Independista party when I was Governor, in which the argument in favor of immediate independence and the fitness of the people for self-government, was that a count of the educated people in the islands showed that they were twice as numerous as the offices to be filled in the central, provincial and municipal government, and they, therefore, afforded two shifts to fill them, so that when one set became unsatisfactory the other might take its place.

One of those who advocated independence before the Congressional committee advocated that another class be admitted to the islands, under proper restrictions, to wit, the Chinese. This was Dominador Gomez, a great popular leader and orator. He said: "We, here, in the Philippines, do not desire the Chinaman as a mechanic or as a teacher; we desire him, and this I will say, though it may be an offensive phrase to them—we desire the Chinese merely and purely as work animals for the cultivation of our fields."

It seems to me that what I have said throws a light on the real political sentiments of the educated and well-to-do political Filipinos and the sincerity of their love of civil liberty and democratic government. Think of it! A small directing or governing class—a large class or mass that has learned to obey—and a Chinese animal class that has learned to work.

One important difficulty with the reasoning of the petitioners is in the premise that the small educated class knows how to govern. They need quite as much training in popular government in order to exercise power moderately, justly, wisely and effectively as the common people need of education to make them realize what their rights are under a popular government.

MASS OF FILIPINOS DO NOT KNOW THEIR RIGHTS OR UNDERSTAND LIBERTY.

The great body of the adult Filipinos to-day, steeped in ignorance, do not know their own rights under the government under which they are now living. The supreme difficulty of maintaining a government of free civil institutions there is in giving the uneducated and the poor an understanding of what their rights are. They do not know enough to vindicate those rights by the methods secured to them now of appeal to the courts and to the constituted police authorities.

That is the reason why slavery and peonage continue to exist as a social feature in many parts of the Philippines. The actual slavery is generally confined to the purchase, by Christian Filipinos, of the youthful members of the non-Christian tribes that live near the Christian Filipinos in the rural parts of the islands. The purchase is often a peaceable commercial transaction with the parents of the children sold and sometimes with the forcible captors,

members of a hostile tribe. The Christian Filipinos, who buy and keep the slaves, reconcile their views to the practice by the thought that in this way they are bringing them into Christianity.

Out and out slavery is not sufficiently general to make it at all the same evil as the more elusive and less easily discoverable institution of peonage, which prevails quite largely in the islands, and which is very hard to stamp out, because of the difficulty of discovering its existence in a society in which there is much of the patriarchal life, in which the obligation of a continuing hospitality to all relatives and connections is very strong, and in which secrecy as a protection against governmental interference for any purpose is an instinct. It is the result of a pledge of a debtor and his family to his creditor for an indebtedness that is never paid, but always increases. It is not a cruel condition, but it is a most depressing hindrance to the creation of an independent and intelligent citizenship among these people. It lends support to the system of aristocracy, or oligarchy that the leading advocates of independence in their hearts would welcome.

ATTITUDE OF NATIONAL ASSEMBLY TOWARD SLAVERY.

The attitude of this class is shown by the repeated refusal of the present National Assembly of the Philippines to put into force the declaration in the fundamental statute of the Philippines, passed by the Congress of the United States, forbidding slavery. The utterly ridiculous reason given by the Filipinos for not passing such laws is that to pass them would be a confession that slavery existed in the Philippines, and they would not put such a stain upon their own people by enacting such legislation. Just now, with the change of administration, and with the hope of obtaining more concessions of power, the National Assembly has yielded and passed such a law. This obstinacy of the National Assembly in respect to such proper legislation is only a proof of the insincerity that we must attribute to them in the grandiloquent phrases that so many of them use to indicate their desire for the elevation of the Filipino people, and is an earnest of their purpose to create an oligarchy, whose control they would seek to perpetuate and the indifference that they would show to the rights of the ignorant, of the weak and the poor and to their protection against the abuse of the *cacique*.

We are not the guardians of the small portions of the educated and the wealthy in the Philippines. We are guardians, especially of the poor, the ignorant and the weak, and we cannot discharge our duty as such guardians unless we remain there long enough to give to the poor, the weak and the humble a consciousness of their rights and a certainty that they will be preserved under any government to which we may transfer sovereign power. It is altogether irrelevant to the question of our responsibility in this regard to point out that under the influence of this oligarchy and this *caciqueism* the poor and the ignorant and the humble are opposed to our continuance in the islands. To these people the educated politicians now seeking control speak in their own language, and mislead them by false representations of the motives and action of our government. By the ties of race they exert a selfish and unhealthful influence over them. It is the inability of the common people to understand what is their own interest that justifies our remaining there, and to say that they would prefer the independence of the islands under the present conditions is only to demonstrate their lack of capacity to receive it. So much for the condition of the people, for whose good we went into the Philippines. By going and doing the good we have done, we are pledged to stay there until that good shall become not only substantial but permanent.

AGUINALDO'S CORRUPT AND ANARCHICAL RULE IN 1898.

Now, what were the conditions as to peace when we went into the islands? With the release of Spanish control, and while this government was hesitating as to what policy it should pursue, Aguinaldo in control of the forces of the insurrection, had established a certain sort of military rule in Luzon, the largest island, with the greatest population. He went through the form of calling a constitutional convention, representing all parts of the Archipelago, and made up chiefly of residents of Manila, most of them appointed by him, or by his lieutenants. They adopted a constitution. And then Aguinaldo proceeded to govern outside of it. For six months he was in a certain sort of control of Luzon, but never in the history of the Spanish domination was there such graft, such tyranny, such disorder and such utter lack of just government.

Then followed the campaign for peace and tranquillity in the islands conducted by the United States Government. It took us a

full two years—indeed, nearly three—to bring about that peace. The prevailing conditions when Spain was in control had lent themselves to banditism, and lawless disturbances in different parts of the islands. Under the conditions succeeding the war and the several insurrections in the islands, this pest of ladronism was much increased, and it seriously interfered with any possible return to prosperity or successful agriculture upon which the people depended for life.

CONDITION OF AGRICULTURE—1898-1902.

In the matter of agriculture the islands are as rich as any tropical country. But agriculture has not been carried on with any degree of effectiveness. Although the opportunity for the cultivation of rice is as good as anywhere in the world, and it forms the chief staple of the food of the people, much of it has been imported, because it is easier for the people to raise hemp and sugar and copra or dried cocoanut and buy the rice from other countries than to raise it as it can be raised, of fine quality and great abundance. Of course the Filipinos are a tropical people, and are naturally not as active or as persistent in labor as the people of a temperate zone. They form, however, a great contrast to the Javanese, who, in the island of Java, which is not as large as Cuba, raise rice and sugar enough to support 30,000,000 people, while the Filipinos have to import foodstuffs for the maintenance of 8,000,000, with a territory quite as rich and five times as large. The Filipino people are fine artificers. They are adepts with their hands. They readily understand machinery. They are good wood carvers, and there is not any reason why they should not become good farmers, and doubtless under the influence of vocational schools and of a greater intelligence and of increased desire for comforts such as our policies will develop, agriculture, the chief pursuit of the Filipino people, will become much more efficient and provide a great deal better condition of living.

In Spanish times there was a university in Manila, older than any university in this country, and there were academic institutions in which an education of the scholastic and literary kind was given to a comparatively small number of the youth whose parents were able to afford it, and who formed part of what are called "Gente Fina," or the fine people. The Spanish educational system in

other parts of the Philippines, however, while somewhat extensive on paper, was so crude and ineffective that it hardly constituted education at all, and the great difficulty that we have had in the Islands has been in securing the material for competent teachers among the Filipinos to constitute the main organization of our educational system.

TRANSPORTATION.

Transportation in the Islands was of the most primitive character. Of course, as between the Islands vessels of small tonnage kept up communication, and there were some steamers. There was a railroad 120 miles long, and no more. There was a humorous effort at a street railway in Manila of the crudest character. There were almost no passable roads in the country. Trails had to be used, and the only wagons which were used were wagons with wheels of solid slabs of wood, circular in form, with narrow edges, that cut any road in the wet season into a condition that destroyed it. Wheeled communication in the country was almost impossible, and bridle paths furnished opportunity for the only inter-provincial land commerce.

As to health, there were practically no laws enforced at all, and the prevalence of smallpox, of cholera and of the plague and of the rinderpest among the cattle forms a story of governmental inefficiency that one does not like to dwell upon. Of course, for many reasons, there is much greater difficulty in making a government effective in the Tropics than in the Temperate Zone. Reference to statutes and proclamations and official statistics will show an intention on the part of the Spanish Government to do a great many things which it did not do, or which, if it ever began, it ceased to do. "Proyectos," to use a Spanish expression, were numerous, but they were rarely carried out. There was a great deal of masonry, a good many bridges that showed the art and knowledge of Spanish engineering, but they were all dilapidated and broken down. They had not been maintained. The roads laid out had not been repaired, and the actual conditions were as I have described them. This was what we had to work upon.

AMERICAN MILITARY ANTAGONISM HELPED COMMISSION WITH FILIPINOS.

The necessity for the use of a military force when we went to the Islands was unfortunate, and caused the killing and wounding of many Filipinos in the battles which ensued. The rigid military rule that was essential in the beginning in order to subdue lawlessness and the necessarily more or less arbitrary attitude of a military administration, naturally prejudiced the Filipinos against American army management. So when we came into the Islands a commission of peace and civil government, we were placed in the fortunate contrast of offering something different for the Filipino people from that which they had received from the army. This enabled us to induce the Filipino people to believe in our friendly purposes, to accept our assurances of good will toward them, and ultimately, after the defeat of Mr. Bryan, in 1900, to induce those who were still in arms to surrender their arms and come in and bring about a state of comparative tranquillity that made the establishment of law and order much more easy.

CONSTITUTION OF PHILIPPINES.

Mr. Root, who more than any other one man initiated our Philippine policy, and is mainly responsible for its success from the standpoint of statesmanship and far-sightedness, drafted the instructions which President McKinley issued to Mr. Root as Secretary of War to guide our course of government in the Philippines. That letter has a conspicuous place in the story of our work in the Philippines, and forms a Congressional indorsement, given to but few documents in the whole history of our country. It secured to the Philippine people all the guaranties of our Bill of Rights except trial by jury and the right to bear arms. It was issued by President McKinley as commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy in the exercise of a power which Congress was glad to leave to him without intervention for four years. He had thus the absolute control of what should be done in the way of establishing government in the Philippine Islands, and this letter to Mr. Root was the fundamental law of a civil government established under military authority. Subsequently, in 1902, when Congress assumed responsibility, it formally adopted and expressly ratified this Letter of

Instructions, and declared that it, as supplemented by the remaining provisions of the statute, should be the Constitution of the Government of the Philippine Islands, and the charter of the liberties of the Filipino people. It ratified everything that had been done under President McKinley's direction, and thus took over the government that had been shaped according to the necessities of existing conditions as they changed and made it into a symmetrical whole. The course pursued was the sensible course of fitting the government to the actual needs of the people by actual trial and amendment from time to time, until like a garment made by a tailor it fulfilled well and suitably the requirements of the body which it covered, and whose welfare it was intended to promote.

Now, what have we done in the Philippines with the authority which Congress and the people of the United States either gave or ratified? In the first place, we have established what is absolutely essential in the Islands, and what they never had before in any such degree in the palmiest of the Spanish days—we have given them peace.

U. S. ARMY NOW ONLY A MORAL RESTRAINT.

In order to do so, we have maintained, since the insurrection against our authority entirely ceased, in 1912, a military force in the Islands of perhaps 12,000 to 15,000 American troops of the regular army. This force constitutes a background of authority. Occasionally, in battles with the Moros, it has been called into requisition. But the question of the Moros is entirely different from that of the Christian Filipinos, and it is a true statement to say that since 1902 the army of United States troops has merely been a moral force among the Christian Filipinos, and has never been used for really active police requirements.

The Philippine Islands have been kept peaceful by a constabulary organized soon after the Philippine Commission went to the Islands, aided very infrequently by a body known as Philippine Scouts, of 4,000 men. The constabulary consists of about 5,000 men, maintained at a cost to the treasury of the Islands of about \$4,000,000. It is one of the most effective bodies for police and peace purposes that I know of anywhere in the world. Their principal

officers are United States army officers, in part also Americans, who had voluntary army service, and in part Filipinos.

The enlisted men are all Filipinos. At first, for some years, they were quite unpopular in the Philippine Islands. Now they have manifested such a fine spirit and have aided the people so much in the suppression of ladronism, in helping them during their cholera trials, in their sufferings from typhoons and earthquakes, and from other visitations of nature, that the people have come to depend on them and to regard them as their friends and indispensable to their comfort; and it has become entirely possible to go from one part of the Christian Filipino territory to another unaccompanied and entirely free from any danger from assault or robbery, a condition which, of course, conduces to prosperity, to the promotion of agriculture, and to the happiness of the people.

AMERICAN SYSTEM OF EDUCATION.

Next, as to education. We determined that English was the language that the people ought to be taught. When we consulted them they preferred English. That was the general popular impression at the time. At times a demagogic agitation of the intriguing politicians of the Philippine people has been used, but without success, to prejudice the people against English, and to bring about the teaching of the barbarous dialects to the narrowing effect of which the people had been condemned for so many centuries. But English is the business language of the Orient; it is the language of free institutions. As already said, there were only 10 per cent. that spoke Spanish in the Islands. It was the language of the government that had put its arm under the Filipinos and was helping them on to better things, and we conceived that that was the language which we ought to give them the benefit of knowing and using as a medium of communication among themselves. I have already alluded to the enthusiasm with which the Taos so-called, that is the men close to the soil, welcomed the opportunity for primary English education of their children.

It was difficult to secure proper teachers. We sent to America for 1,000 American teachers. They came out and did great work. Education is expensive. We had to pay the American teachers good wages. There were a number of Filipino teachers from the Spanish times who had been most indifferently prepared for their duties,

but we had to take them as our only material and teach them English. It was a slow, hard process, but we have succeeded better than in our fondest hopes we thought possible.

We spend about \$3,200,000 on schools annually. In primary schools, which cover four years, we teach English, simple arithmetic, geography, and the rudiments of some useful occupation. In the intermediate schools, which cover three years, we give vocational training in farming, housekeeping and household arts, and teach business courses. In the high schools we give a high school academic education and continue the vocational training. This secondary system includes a Philippine normal school of more than 1,000 students, a school of commerce, a school of arts and trades and a printing bureau. The population is upwards of 7,000,000. The school population is about 1,200,000, and we have an average enrollment in the schools of 400,000. We have founded one government university, with schools of liberal arts, of medicine, of agriculture, of forestry, of engineering, of fine arts, of the veterinary science and of law; one normal school; one insular trade school; one school of commerce; one school for the deaf and blind, 35 provincial trade and manual schools, 38 high schools, 283 intermediate schools, and more than 3,600 primary schools, or 4,000 schools in all. We have one director, two assistant directors, 40 division superintendents, 444 supervising teachers, 664 American teachers, and 7,669 Filipino teachers. We have 3,500 secondary students, 24,488 intermediate students and 367,018 primary students, average enrollment.

SCHOOL PLANT.

There are between 600 and 700 schoolhouses of permanent materials in use, and the government is building at the rate of more than 100 schoolhouses a year. Over 300 reinforced concrete municipal school buildings have been recently completed or are in process of construction.

There is more English spoken in the Islands to-day than there is Spanish, and that has been learned in a decade of education, while the Spanish has been the official language of the Islands and of the educated people for three centuries. Of course, this English education affects only the youth of the country, and must take some time to make itself felt in the influential part of the population.

It will take two generations to give the Filipinos this needed education.

If we had more money we could enlarge the enrollment in the schools and the number of schoolhouses and the number of teachers. But we have to cut our clothes to suit our cloth. Government that is useful is costly. We derive for the civil government of the Philippines not one dollar from the United States. It is all raised by taxation in the Philippines. The maintenance of peace and the education of the people go hand in hand. We spend a little more on one than we do on the other. We spend a good deal more on both than the Spanish Government did, but as the Spanish Government neither maintained peace nor educated the people, the explanation is easy.

AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

We have given the Filipinos, in so far as they are able and intelligent to avail themselves of it, a system of courts and administration of justice that will compare favorably with that of any country. The judges are half Filipino and half American. The civil code derived from the Roman law, transferred from Spain to the Philippines, which defines the rights of persons, is a good code, and we did not disturb it. The code of civil procedure was one which kept litigants with its technicalities "pawing in the vestibule of justice forever," and we gave them a new one to render justice speedy and cheap. The criminal procedure was not in accordance with our constitution or our ideas of the preservation of the rights of those accused, and it was changed. A law of evidence was introduced, but we did not think, and I do not think now that the Filipino people are ready for a jury system. Issues of fact are tried by a court with assessors called in to assist the judge, and then the whole record goes to the Supreme Court of seven judges, where the issues of fact are retried. On the whole, the system enables the people of the Philippine Islands to secure a speedy and effective settlement of litigation, and offers to the humblest and poorest individual in the Philippines a complete opportunity to vindicate all his personal rights of liberty and property as contemplated by the constitution of the United States, if only he knows enough to know what his rights are and is not prevented from asserting them by the social oppression of caciqueism or peonage. Of

course, as education proceeds, as more of the people become literate and are able to learn from schools, newspapers and books what their rights are, the more satisfactory will the administration of justice in the Islands become.

HEALTH.

In the matter of health, a rigid system of quarantine and of health examination and promotion has been inaugurated all over the Islands. One of the commonest sources of spreading disease has been the bad water gathered from surface sources and full of germs of all kinds, producing malaria, amoebic dysentery, and all forms of fever. We have spent \$4,000,000 in bringing the pure water from the mountains into Manila and in the establishment of a modern sewage system. In a flat city like Manila, so near to the surface of the sea, it has been necessary to establish reservoirs for sewage and to pump it out to sea. In the country we have sunk 830 artesian wells all over the Islands, substituting pure water for vitiated and disease-spreading liquid. We have vaccinated, all told, 10,000,000 of people in the Islands, and are vaccinating more at the rate of 1,000,000 to 2,000,000 a year. Black smallpox in the Spanish days carried off 40,000 people a year in many years. Today the number of victims is reduced to but a few hundred in the Islands. In seven of the provinces they had 6,000 deaths from black smallpox in a year. And now there is not a single case in those provinces. Cholera, which was the scourge of the islands, has lost its terrors. Bubonic plague has been entirely driven out. Lepers who were allowed to wander over the Islands and subjected to the greatest misery and often cruelty, have been now gathered together, the false cases of leprosy separated from the true cases, and the real lepers have been sent to a colony where they cultivate the earth and are comfortable and happy, and the dread disease is under close examination, with every indication that methods for its cure and amelioration are close at hand. The effect of good water and sewage in Manila has been to reduce the number of children who die in convulsions from 2,000 to 500 each year, though half of all the children for lack of proper rearing still die in infancy. The death rate has been so much reduced that the life insurance companies now charge the same rates in the Philippines that they do in the United States.

CIVIL SERVICE—CAPACITY OF FILIPINOS.

Our experience in the Philippines with reference to the efficiency of Filipinos for Government service is that they can be made to do good work when they are under control of a competent American; but up to this time, with a few notable exceptions, they have not the initiative or the sense of responsibility, or the energy sufficient to carry on work as chiefs of bureaus, or to enforce discipline in a moderate and useful way. The policy of the Commission has been to extend as rapidly as possible, consistent with good government, the opportunities to the Filipinos to enter the Government service and to be promoted therein. We have a Civil Service law there that is far more radical and thorough than the Civil Service law of the United States.

During the year 1912 a total of 6,000 Filipinos competed in the examinations, about 5,000 taking them in English and 801 in Spanish, whereas during the first two years' examinations over 90 per cent. of the native competitors had to be examined in Spanish. In 1903 the number of Americans employed in the whole service was 2,777, and the number of Filipinos was 2,697. In 1912 the number of Americans employed was 2,680, while the number of Filipinos employed was 6,933. The amount of money paid to the Americans in 1903 was \$3,600,000, while the amount paid to the Filipinos was \$1,110,000. The salaries paid to the Americans in 1912 amounted to \$4,600,000, while the amount paid to the Filipinos had increased from \$1,110,000 to \$2,700,000. Of course, it is necessary to pay Americans more than Filipinos. The cost of living for the Americans in the Islands is twice the cost of living of the Filipinos. This is due to racial differences and to the ability of the Filipinos to buy things and to secure labor at a less price. It is one of those inequalities that are inherent in the nature of the work we are doing.

I do not hesitate to say that the character of the American civil servants and their effectiveness for the work they have to do in the Islands, when Governor-General Forbes left the Islands, was at the highest point. It has been the result of twelve years of training and growth. Every member of the service had an intense interest in the success of the government and in the showing that could be made of efficiency and economy in the reports of the various departments and of the Commission to this country. They

have always felt that they were on trial, and while in early days we had some bitter experiences, they were lessons which pointed out wise paths.

EXPENSE OF THE PHILIPPINES TO THE UNITED STATES.

There is a persistent misstatement that the Philippines are a great expense to the United States. The only expense they constitute for the United States is the expense of maintaining the regular United States forces in the Islands. That includes maintenance of 4,000 Philippine scouts and the extra cost of supporting 12,000 troops, which have to be transported every two years forward and back from the Philippines to the United States, and such additional cost of living for them in the Islands as there may be. It means about \$250 a man extra, and this with the cost of the Philippine scouts will reach perhaps the sum of \$6,000,000 a year. Beyond this there is no expense to the United States. Every other expenditure is paid for out of the treasury of the Islands, raised by taxation and from other sources. The tax laws of the Islands include an import and export tax; internal revenue, tax on the manufacture of liquor, and a tax on merchants' sales, a cedula or a poll tax, and a land tax, which is at a very small ad valorem rate. The income of the government is also increased by interest earned on funds of the Islands kept in banks in the United States and exchange in the sale of drafts on such funds. The per capita taxation is far less than in other Oriental colonies.

CHANGE FROM SILVER TO GOLD MONETARY STANDARD.

One of the great benefits conferred on the Islands by the American Government was a change from a silver currency in which, because of its violent fluctuations in value, there was great gambling in which people always lost, and the bankers always won, a system that enabled the foreign buyers of the products in the Philippines in copra and hemp and sugar to buy from the Filipino people at silver prices and to sell at gold prices. We introduced the gold standard, making a gold peso worth 50 cents in gold, the standard of value. We coined the silver Mexican dollar, and we established what is called a gold standard fund to maintain the silver peso on an equality with the gold peso. The subsequent rise

in the price of silver required a reduction of the silver in the peso, and made the change a source of great profit to the Islands, and out of this we established a new gold standard fund which financial experts all over the world pronounced to be ample for the purpose. It amounts to \$9,000,000 for the preservation of the equality of the silver peso with the gold peso in a circulation of about \$40,000,000. That gold standard fund earns interest and earns exchange. The amount realized by the Government from the change in the monetary standard, amounting to about \$2,200,000, has been held and used for governmental purposes, and we may anticipate from it an earning of \$250,000 a year in the future. Indeed, we have secured for the Government in the time we have been there, by financial transactions of this sort, \$3,240,000 interest on deposits and \$850,000 for sale of exchange. On our 4 per cent. bonds, of which we issued \$12,000,000 for purposes of improvements and for the friars' lands, of which I am about to speak, we had a premium of \$850,000. In other words, all told up to date, there has inured through the financial operations of the Government, to the benefit of the Filipino people, and for their use for general purposes, \$7,000,000. Considering that their total income from taxation does not exceed over \$9,000,000 annually, it will be seen how large a benefit this has been.

THE FRIARS' LANDS.

We had to buy the friars' lands. We had to do it in order to prevent insurrection by the 60,000 tenants of the friars, which would have followed if we had restored the friars to possession, as they were entitled to be restored, because they were the lawful owners of the land. We found that if the Government would buy the land, the tenants would acquiesce as tenants. The friars gave up their claim to past rents that covered a decade. We paid a large price for the lands because we were paying for a political object. We were not making a land speculation. They cost us nearly \$7,000,000, and we paid for them in bonds at 4 per cent., realizing from their sale the premium to which I have referred. We have now sold about half of the lands. If there is proper management under the new administration there will be no trouble in paying off all the bonds when they fall due from the proceeds of the sales of the lands. There has thus been eliminated an open sore in the so-

cial and political body of the Islands which would have involved them in constant pain and most injurious disturbances of law and order.

MARVELOUS EFFECT OF FREE TRADE WITH THE UNITED STATES.

After laboring for nine years as hard as I could, and urging upon the American Congress the duty of opening the markets of the United States to the Philippines, I was able, in the Payne Bill, to secure practically free trade between the Islands and the United States, and the effect of that change upon the business of the islands has been most marked. The business, as judged by the internal revenue tax on merchants' sales—an excellent measure of business done—was stationary or decreasing for the four years preceding 1909. The Payne Bill went into effect at the end of that year. The business was \$190,000,000 in 1909. It increased to \$228,000,000 in 1910, to \$266,000,000 in 1911, to \$286,000,000 in 1912, and to \$336,000,000 in 1913. Of the trade with the United States in 1899, the imports were \$1,100,000 and the exports were \$3,500,000, or a total of \$4,700,000. It increased in 1909 to \$5,000,000 imports from the United States, and \$10,000,000 exports, or a total of \$15,000,000. But in the next four years, under the Payne Bill, the trade increased so that in 1913 the total imports from the United States, instead of being \$1,100,000, as they were in 1899, became \$25,400,000, while the exports to the United States increased to \$20,000,000 as compared with \$4,700,000 in 1899. The total trade of the Islands, including that with the United States, shows an even more startling increase. The imports in the Islands in 1889 were \$13,000,000 and exports \$15,000,000, or a total of \$28,000,000; the imports in 1913 were \$56,000,000 and the exports were \$54,000,000, or a total of \$110,000,000, an increase from \$28,000,000 to \$110,000,000 under the beneficent rule of the American Government.

AUTONOMY IN THE PHILIPPINES.

Finally, with the sincere purpose of preparing the Filipinos for self-government, and giving them such a political training that they may acquire the self-restraint and the character of self-government, as President Wilson calls it, in a passage which I hope at a later

part of this address to quote, they have complete autonomy in their municipalities, subject, of course, to the disciplinary control of the governor for dereliction in office. They have a similar complete autonomy in the provincial governments except that the treasurer of the province is an American. In 1906, by the act of Congress, the National Representative Assembly was organized, whose members were elected by the Christian Filipino electorate, divided into districts, and the Assembly was given equal power of island legislation over Christian Filipino territory with the Commission.

HIGH CHARACTER OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT IN PHILIPPINES.

I have thus considered some of the main benefits which American control has conferred upon the Filipino people. It is doubtless long and tedious, but I have left so much unsaid in respect to other details of progress that I cannot but think that the picture is very incomplete. If we are to be criticized at all for what has been done in the Islands down to 1913, it is that we went a little too rapidly in extending the political power of the native Filipinos, but we were anxious to give them as much power as could be trusted to them as a means of educating them to the responsibility of self-governing people. The Philippines have been visited in recent times by many students of government, and their verdict has generally been one of highest praise for the work that has been done during the past decade. As I was there not quite four years, and only had personally to do with the initiation of the government, I think I can speak without a lack of modesty and say that the colonial work of the American Government in the Philippines is quite as remarkable as that of Lord Cromer in Egypt, when the conditions under which we were working were considered and when the opposition which we had at home from a great political party is given its due effect.

WHAT ARE WE TO DO?

Now, what are we to do? Are we to let these islands go, and turn them over to an oligarchy of eloquent and attractive orators

who really believe in aristocracy, and who have no real conception of civil and individual liberty, and certainly no capacity by training and education for successful popular government? The minute that the strong background of a powerful government is withdrawn, the differences between the Filipinos and the Moros, who are mutinous and have no sympathy with the Filipinos, and have a racial hatred for them, will at once develop. The Moros have notified us that they will not stand Filipino government, and the Filipinos say they cannot take over the Islands unless they take over all of them. It is true that the Christian Filipinos have a homogeneity greater than might be expected from a difference in dialect in the sixteen or seventeen different dialects that they speak, and their separation into different islands by the sea, but they have some tribal antipathies, sympathies and the so-called tribes are suspicious of each other. They all have capacity for political intrigue and for the institution and maintenance of insurrection and contention for power. For us to leave the Islands and to guarantee to the nations of the world, in exchange for the treaties of neutrality with respect to the Islands, that law and order will be preserved and there will be no civil commotion, would be an evidence of lack of sanity that I cannot think the American people will ever display. If they should, it would not be a year before we should have to go back into the Islands in order to maintain the peace that we had guaranteed to the world. As one prominent Filipino expressed it to me, "Your vessels carrying away your government would hardly get through the passage between Maravales and Corregidor, in sight of Manila, before the throat-cutting would begin."

WHAT OF THE POLICY OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION?

I am quite conscious that my relation to this Administration is such as to suggest at once that not infrequent weakness of human nature which manifests itself in one who has given up a task, to enjoy criticizing the work of him who succeeds to it. It is very rare that a minister who is called from the pulpit to sit in a pew can regard with judicial attitude and fairness the sermons that he has to hear from one who has supplanted him, and I wish earnestly to guard myself against yielding to such a natural state of mind. But in respect to the Philippines, I have a feeling quite different from that toward every other issue that is current in govern-

mental matters to-day. I am out of politics. I have no desire but the success of this Administration. Of course, I have differed with it in respect to the tariff, and have prophesied that the changes now made would disturb business, but I would far rather have my prophecies prove wrong than have hard times and the suffering that may follow them. I am no calamity howler, with the hope that my party may climb into power over the destruction of business or any other disaster to the people. The truth is, I would much prefer the continuance of the present Administration to the success of a party or candidate whose principles necessarily would involve the loss of an independent judiciary, the subversion of constitutional government and the weakening of all the guaranties of individual liberty. Therefore I think I can come to this question of the Philippines with an impartial judgment, with very considerable knowledge and experience, and in no spirit of carping criticism. I concede an intense personal interest in the subject, for one does not give thirteen years of the best years of his life to the working out of so interesting a human and governmental problem as this without having a personal interest. It concerns the welfare of 8,000,000 people, and the fame of one's country before the world is conspicuously involved in its solution. But I do not care who has the credit of doing the thing which has to be done in those islands. The politics of this country have not the slightest influence upon me in this matter. I feel that I know so much more about the problem and its difficulties than any of the gentlemen in this Administration that I have a duty and a right to call their attention to some of the dangers that beset them, and to some of the mistakes that have been made, if reports that have come from Manila as to what is being done there are authentic.

The Administration is burdened by unfulfilled prophecies of disaster for, and criticisms of, our Philippine policy of the last decade which were made by the Democratic party in three National platforms. Those planks have been much moderated in the last platform of 1912, where there was some indication that they realized that whatever has been said as to the merits of the issue in 1900, 1904 and again in 1908, that the present condition of the Islands vindicated those who had been responsible for the creation of the present government and the management of the affairs of the Philippine people. I judge that the Administration is in a situation

where it wishes to do something in order to vindicate the party stand, but I confidently hope that they will be content with what they have already done, and not go further into dangerous change that will ultimately lead to disaster.

DECLARATION OF POLICY BY THIS ADMINISTRATION.

The present declaration of the Administration that they are looking forward to ultimate independence has been accepted by the politicians of the Philippine Islands as a great boon, although Mr. McKinley, Mr. Roosevelt and I promised it from the first, and have always promised it, but we were a little more definite in saying that we did not think it was coming for a generation. The present Administration fixes no time, but their attitude heretofore has been such that the mere declaration of their intention to furnish ultimate independence is accepted by the Filipino people as a promise of early independence. Under these conditions when the Filipino people find that they are no nearer independence under Democratic administration than they were under Republican administration, they will think themselves deceived, and this may lead to some agitation and some disturbance, which will have to be put down with a strong hand.

CHANGES OF COMMISSION TO FILIPINO MAJORITY.

The Administration has enlarged the Filipino membership in the Commission so that it becomes a majority, and legislation will now go through the assembly under the impulse of the politicians of the Islands, and by arousing a popular clamor in its favor they will force their legislation through the Commission, however much the intelligent Filipino members of the Commission may wish to avoid it. Some of the legislation will have to be vetoed by the Secretary of War at Washington, because the Governor-General has not the power to veto. I am inclined to think that the veto at Washington, after it has been exercised a number of times, will be less satisfactory to the Filipino people than the obstruction to unwise legislation by a Commission in the Islands in which Americans predominated.

FILIPINO MAJORITY IN COMMISSION MAY EMBARRASS MORO PROBLEM.

One embarrassment in making the Filipino representation in the Commission controlling is that the Commission is vested with sole power over the Moro tribes and country, and also over the non-Christian tribes. In no respect have the Filipino educated classes shown their incapacity for just government as in their treatment of the Moros and non-Christian tribes. The hard experience of these peoples makes them very well aware of this, and if Filipino views of what ought to be done with them are to be allowed to prevail, trouble will instantly follow. Perhaps this danger may be avoided by the influence which Mr. Harrison and his American colleagues in the Commission can exercise over the Filipino Commissioners in matters in which the National Assembly has no voice. I earnestly hope this will prove to be the case, and the hope is sustained by his promise to the Moros, in reply to their protest, that he would not set a Filipino Governor over them.

TOO GREAT CONCESSIONS OF POWER TO FILIPINOS.

As I have said, I think the only criticism that can be made of our government in the Philippines has been that possibly we have given them too much increase in their control. It was wise and right to give them a partial autonomy, in order that they might be educated in the problems of government and in the problems of popular control, but the gift of one power only feeds a desire for other increases and never satisfies. Therefore our friends in this Administration will find that while for a time there will be quiet satisfaction in the supposed increase of power that has come from enlarging the number of Filipinos in the Commission who constitute the second chamber in the Government, there will be an ultimate demand for an election of that Commission, and soon will come the demand for a definite time for announcing when independence is to be had. And then will be the agitation for the Jones bill, so-called, which is now pending in Congress, and which I hope the Administration has had the good sense to hang up permanently in an innocuous condition of suspense.

CONGRESSMAN JONES—HIS SPEECHES AND HIS BILL.

The author of that bill, Mr. Jones, has been permeated with a hatred for the Republican Philippine policy that blinds him to every fact that comes to his notice in the official statistics, and even in the testimony of his own Democratic colleagues, and that makes him seize upon the utterly false and prejudiced accounts of matters in the Islands given to him by discharged officials and employees whose separation from the service was necessary for the good of the Islands. He has allowed himself to fall into the most ludicrous and shocking inaccuracies of statement that are only to be explained by an obsession that has deprived him of any intelligent use of his faculties in the examination of records available to him and the weighing of evidence that is at his hand. He has allowed the intriguing of the politicians of the Philippines who have sought to exercise influence in Washington completely to hoodwink him as to the circumstances in the Islands, and brought him to the advocacy of a bill which would be absurd in its operation, and which would destroy the benefit of everything that has been done in the Islands up to this time.

MR. HARRISON'S REMOVAL OF ABLE BUREAU CHIEFS.

Upon the arrival of Mr. Harrison in Manila, and as soon as he had announced his policy, he called for the immediate resignation of the heads of the most important Bureau Chiefs in the Islands, and announced his intention of appointing Filipinos to some of these places and Americans from the United States to others. Among these bureaus are those of Customs, of Public Lands, of Internal Revenue and of Supervision of the Provincial Governments. These are bureaus that require for their proper administration a thorough knowledge of the Islands and a technical familiarity with especial statutes and bureau regulations. It was reported that the Chief of the Bureau of Health was to be removed. That has been denied. But it seems to be true that that officer's discretion is to be limited by a Board of Natives who are to see that the customs of the country are not to be violated by Health regulations. This might prove to be a serious obstruction to indispensable regulations. Upon the personal attention and skill of the head of the Health Bureau the physical welfare of the people of the Islands directly depends, because in that part of the world the diseases to which flesh is heir

press constantly for victims, and increasing vigilance is the price of immunity from them. I sincerely hope that this sweeping removal of most competent officers is not the result of a tendency toward the spoils system.

The universal testimony will bear out the statement that in the thirteen years of government under Mr. McKinley, Mr. Roosevelt and myself partisan considerations were given no weight in appointments or policy. Judges and all other American officials were selected indifferently from Republicans and Democrats, and it will be a serious impairment of efficiency in government if any departure from this course is taken.

Of course, these removals by Mr. Harrison, with a suggestion that some Filipinos are to be appointed to the vacancies, will be popular among the Filipino politicians, and the honeyed flattery that will pour into the ears of the new Governor-General will help to deafen him to the warning of those who know better, and have no such motive for misrepresentation.

IGNORING OF VALUABLE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

There were a number of persons both in this country and in the Islands whose experience and opportunity for observation in governmental matters in the Islands would have made it wise for Mr. Harrison to hear, whether he followed them or not. But through an offishness and suspicion toward such persons, because they had been in some way connected with the previous administration in the Islands, natural, perhaps in home politics, he seems to have denied himself the benefit of their advice and information.

What gives me most concern is the quickness with which Mr. Harrison has acted in his removals. It indicates that he has consulted with someone before reaching the Islands. He had no such familiarity with men or conditions to make these removals of his own motion and knowledge. He went to the Islands with Mr. Quezon, the Philippine delegate to Congress. I am told there was a secret agent of the Philippines in the Islands gathering information who made a report. It was in my judgment most unwise for Mr. Harrison to act on such information until he had been long enough in the Islands to have confirmed his facts received from such sources. I speak quite within bounds when I say that Mr. Quezon,

the Philippine Congressional Delegate, is not a dependable or safe adviser. The egregious blunders into which he has led Mr. Jones in his attack upon Governor-General Forbes, which the latter has exposed in a reply, is sufficient proof of that, and I am advised that there is other evidence of it easily available to Mr. Harrison in the Islands.

REPORTED PANIC AMONG AMERICAN CIVIL SERVANTS.

Word comes that it was given out that advice and information from Filipinos were sought by Mr. Harrison, but none from Americans. It is reported that this attitude and the sudden removals, together with rumors of reductions of salaries of American officials, created a panic among the American civil servants, so widespread that Mr. Harrison, in the Moro country, found it necessary to send a reassuring dispatch back to Manila on the subject. Of course, the community of American civil servants is comparatively small, and exaggeration is a characteristic of an Oriental city and country. It may be that these reports are unfounded or much colored. The squeezing out of American civil servants by reducing their salaries on the plea of economy and of doing equity by leveling them down to the standard of Filipino salaries, will seriously impair the efficiency of the Governmental bureaus. If the American civil service in the Islands breaks down, disaster will certainly follow.

In spite of these disturbing reports from the Philippines, I am still optimistic and still hopeful that the structure of government that has been erected there with so much effort and success will not be seriously or permanently injured under President Wilson. It was, perhaps, to be expected that the radically unsound views of Mr. Bryan would have some influence at first, and all those mistaken declarations of previous Democratic platforms would create some embarrassment. But even if mistakes are made, hard experience will teach some salutary lessons, and there will be a *locus poenitentiae* for some time to come.

When, by whatever hard knocks, his representatives shall learn the truth as to conditions in the Islands, as they will, and communicate it to President Wilson, I have confidence that he will direct them to retrace any steps which may have led them away from the course marked out a decade ago by McKinley and Root and successfully followed down to March 4, 1913. My confidence is based on

the language used by President Wilson in his work on "Constitutional Government" in respect to our duty in the Philippines, where he says:

"Self-government is not a mere form of institutions, to be had when desired, if only proper pains be taken. It is a form of character. It follows upon the long discipline which gives a people a self-possession, self-mastery, the habit of order and peace and common counsel, and a reverence for law which will not fail when they themselves become the makers of law, the steadiness of self-control of political maturity. And these things cannot be had without long discipline.

"The distinction is of vital concern to us in respect of practical choices of policy which we must make, and make very soon. We have dependencies to deal with, and must deal with them in the true spirit of our own institutions. We can give the Filipinos constitutional government, a government which they may count upon to be just, a government based upon some clear and equitable understanding, intended for their good and not for our aggrandizement; but we must ourselves for the present supply that government. It would, it is true, be an unprecedented operation, reversing the process of Runnymede; but America has before this shown the world enlightened processes of politics that were without precedent. It would have been within the choice of John to summon his barons to Runnymede and of his own initiative enter into a constitutional understanding with them; and it is within our choice to do a similar thing, at once wise and generous, in the government of the Philippine Islands. But we cannot give them self-government. Self-government is not a thing that can be 'given' to any people, because it is a form of character and not a form of constitution. No people can be given the self-control of maturity. Only a long apprenticeship of obedience can secure them the precious possession, a thing no more to be bought than given. They cannot be presented with the character of a community, but it may confidently be hoped that they will become a community under the wholesome and salutary influences of just laws and a sympathetic administration; that they will after a while understand and master themselves, if in the meantime they are understood and served in good conscience by those set over them in authority.

"We of all people in the world should know these fundamental things, and should act upon them, if only to illustrate the mastery in politics which belongs to us of hereditary right. To ignore them would be not only to fail and fail miserably, but to fail ridiculously and belie ourselves. Having ourselves gained self-government by a definite process which can have no substitute, let us put the peoples dependent upon us in the right way to gain it also." ("Constitutional Government in the United States," pages 52 and 53.)

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